621 312 stream must be kept in repair by all the people using the water of the canal throughout its length. If section *B*, the middle section of the canal, is to be repaired, the people of section *A* are not concerned. The people of the villages along sections *B* and *C* must do all the work. If section *C* is damaged, the villagers of that section must do all the work alone. Yet there are times when most of the damage is along the lowest section, and the people, getting no help from their upstream neighbors, harbor resentment.

621 312 628 Each village is allotted a fixed number of days for the use of water for irrigation. In times of drought, villages will open their outlets from the main canals at night when it is not their turn for water in order to steal water from the section whose turn it is, pretending that the dams broke. It is not uncommon for fights to break out over water-stealing, giving rise to long-lasting and bitter feuds between villages. When there is trouble over water the chiefs and elders of villages not involved in the case are invited to act as arbiters. If the damage done is not too serious, a dinner is given by the offenders and apologies are made; but if the damage is too great, the offending village is required to pay part of the taxes due to the T'u-ssu from the plaintiff village. Even such a settlement, however, may become the beginning of a feud.

621 628 778 Minor causes of friction between villages are the stealing of sheaves from the autumn harvest by poor people or, in the spring and summer, damage to the crops of one village by straying animals from another village. The chiefs of the villages concerned patch up such petty troubles without need for arbitration. Every village raises a sacred animal, usually a Tibetan bull yak or a he-goat. These animals are allowed to roam freely and to trespass on fields, and nobody complains of the damage they cause to crops. After a few years, however, a bull begins to turn savage, and sometimes injures people. In 1914 the bull of the village of Narin ripped open the belly of a Monguor of Lungta, who was working in the fields. The village of Narin made apologies, indemnified the family, and killed the bull. The meat was offered to the village of the man who was killed, because the people of a village are not allowed to eat the meat of their own sacred animal. No further trouble followed from this incident.

628 834 533 There is a strict custom that it is not allowed to sing lascivious songs inside a village. The young people of villages that are not friendly sometimes sing such songs in order to tease their neighbors, and fights break out; but if the chiefs of both villages concerned punish the youngsters, there are no further consequences.

628 In summary, it may be said that there are few serious quarrels between villages, except those over canals and irrigation water; in regions where irrigation is not used, in the so-called "dry land," serious quarrels never break out between villages.

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858 596 family, give them strength and courage in the struggle for the necessities of life, and finally, as I always observed, the love of the grandparents for their grandchildren holds the family united, because only when the grandparents love their children can the daughters-in-law, who are so numerous in the family, forgive each other's and the grandparent's shortcomings and deficiencies. Love for the children is the oil that makes the wheels of the Monguor family turn smoothly. No Monguor can withstand the love displayed for his children.

MORALITY IN THE MONGUOR FAMILY

572 577 It is a general phenomenon that husbands and wives who really enjoy the delights of a happy family life do not feel the need of indulging themselves with pleasures shocking to each other's feelings. People engrossed the whole year long with the problem of making ends meet, dispose of little time to spend in that way and cannot afford its costs. In order to understand the problem we must take stock of the peculiar conditions under which the members of an extended family live. The sons, with their wives and children, live in the same courtyard, one next to the other, with the chief of the family and his wife among them. Permission for absence must be granted by the chief of the extended family, and because there is only one small gate to enter the courtyard, every visitor is instantly noticed, the reasons for his visit are discussed by all the daughters-in-law, and the length of his stay is well observed. Every one in the courtyard is the guardian of the other members of the family, and so the opportunity for misbehavior at home is reduced to a minimum. These are the conditions of every extended family. There is no secrecy. They live in glass houses. The opportunity for misbehavior in small families consisting of husband, wife, and small children is greater, although these families have next door neighbors whose tongues they cannot prevent from wagging. A married daughter who visits her parents, sometimes for many weeks, is more free since her parents do not have as much commanding influence upon her as when she was a child. Very long visits of married daughters at the home of their parents are discouraged by the older people, who seem to know more about the matter. Attendance at the public meetings when such problems are tackled in the presence of all the very interested villagers and the infliction of dishonorable punishments undoubtedly have a salutary and preventive effect upon the people; but in the Monguor society, as in all other societies, it happens that once in a while somebody falls from grace.

• 834 It is not allowed to the young folk to tell smutty jokes in public or to sing lascivious songs in the village; at weeding time, however, obscene songs are sung in the open fields and allowance seems to be made for that custom. At public festivities, at the lamaseries and at the general assembly of the clan, men and women are

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

●834 used to sing and to dance. It is not at such times that regrettable things happen; but at night, when the festivities are over and most of the people have returned home, it is not unusual to see young couples scatter into the surrounding countryside, into valleys in retired places, and to hear them sing the whole night long, answering each other's songs, each couple hidden in its own place. Allowance seems to be made for such customs at such times; but necessarily these groups are not numerous, for mothers with children have to go home and to take care for them, and all Monguors have children. The morality of the Monguors, who live in villages and are occupied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that of the nomad Mongols. Monguor families on the average seemed to me to be happy families that worked hard but enjoyed life.

VI. MONGUOR ECONOMIC LIFE

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175 An analysis of the economic life of the Monguors must begin by taking into account the shift from pastoral nomadism to settled farming. The shift probably began gradually when the Mongol conquests in 1275 drove the Tibetans back along the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, and the ancestors of the Monguors occupied the country and began to amalgamate with the Shat'o Turks who were already there. Specific historical data for the Mongol period are scarce, though we know that in 1287 a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, whose Chinese name was Chang Ch'i, was made governor of the region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 8*b*). We know also that the ancestors of the Monguors began to submit to the new Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368–1373, that each T'u-ssu and his clan were then allotted a fixed territory, and that, between 1368 and 1399, 7,200 Chinese families were sent as military colonists to this frontier (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 15*a*).

THE HISTORICAL SHIFT FROM PASTORALISM TO FARMING

The next important date is 1509 when the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau of Tibet began to disturb the frontier with their inroads. From then on all through the period of decline of the Ming dynasty and the wars and disturbances that attended the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644 and right up to the great Tibetan uprising of 1723 this frontier country was never long at peace. It was during this long and troubled period that walled towns and villages were built for better defense. We may well assume that it was during this period that the number of livestock decreased, partly because of the border raids and partly because of the difficulty of maintaining large herds in the relatively small side valleys inhabited by the Monguors, with the consequence that the Monguors became more and more dependent on the farms adjacent to their fortified villages.

[P. 1106]